

information bulletin

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE POLISH UNITED
WORKERS' PARTY

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE POLISH UNITED
WORKER'S PARTY

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C O N T E N T S

	Page
Foundations of Unity	7
Władysław Gomułka	
Speech Delivered at the Sixth Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party	14
Józef Kulesza	
After the Fifth Congress of Polish Trade Unions	22
EXPERIENCES OF PARTY WORK	
The Work of Neighbourhood Party Groups in Urban Centres	44
Chronicle	56

FOUNDATIONS OF UNITY*

In yesterday's *Trybuna Ludu* we reprinted the *Pravda* article, entitled "Let Us Strengthen the Unity of the Communist Movement for the Victory of Peace and Socialism," in order to acquaint the members of our Party and the Polish public with this highly important political and theoretical document, and also to emphasize our solidarity with the attitude expressed by the central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

For some time now views have been spread within the international Communist movement which are directed against a number of fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism and which have the aim of undermining the cohesion of the fraternal parties. These views are voiced in the most open manner by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour. But whenever Communists come out against the views of the Albanian leaders at party congresses or other such assemblies authorized to do so, a representative of the Chinese Communist Party raises his voice in protest against this criticism, defends the Albanian leaders against the just criticism and attempts to shift the responsibility for the differences on to fraternal parties. The CPSU has tried on several occasions

* Editorial from *Trybuna Ludu*, organ of the CC of the PUWP, January 18, 1963

to remove these differences by way of an exchange of views and mutual consultation. The Albanian leaders have thwarted these attempts.

Recently, the situation has grown worse. *Pravda* has therefore come out with a long article which criticizes the views of the dogmatists on the principal aspects of the strategy and tactics of the present-day revolutionary movement and once again clarifies the Marxist-Leninist standpoint of the CPSU on these matters.

The Communist Parties which remain faithful to the principles formulated at the conferences in 1957 and 1960 feel that the world at present has the choice of peaceful coexistence or thermonuclear war, and without hesitation choose peaceful coexistence as the course of action most in accord with the vital interest of all peoples.

Experience shows that peaceful coexistence does not only not curb the impetus and development of liberation struggles but that, under conditions of peaceful coexistence, these struggles can develop to the fullest extent. We are convinced that Socialism can triumph without a nuclear war. We recognize the real possibility of eliminating world war, not in the distant future but now, in our time, even before Socialism prevails in the entire world.

The dogmatists are of a different opinion. For them, peaceful coexistence is a course towards rapprochement and even unity with imperialism — renunciation of our fight against imperialism. In their opinion, “only the imperialists and reactionaries” can speak of the horror of nuclear weapons and thermonuclear war; revolutionaries, on the other hand, not only can, but should, disregard imperialism “in the strategic sense”. The dogmatists declare that world peace can be maintained in only one way, by way of burying imperialism.

Marxist-Leninists see the contradictions and weaknesses of imperialism as well as the laws which make its end inevitable, but they see no less clearly its still existing strength, its "atomic teeth" and the enormity of the disaster that a thermo-nuclear war would bring upon the world. To the dogmatist, however, imperialism is a "paper tiger," and its power a myth which can be overlooked.

The Soviet Union, the Socialist countries and the fraternal Communist parties have a clearly defined universal programme of struggle against imperialism, defence of peace, and assistance to all liberation movements in the world. This programme embraces the development of the forces and well-being of Socialist countries, a consistent foreign policy of peace, the strengthening of the defensive power of the Socialist camp, continuous unmasking of the imperialist policy, intensification of the activity of the peace forces, enhancement of the friendship and cooperation with countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, assistance to the national-liberation movement, and the strengthening of the solidarity of the working class. On the basis of this programme we conduct an active, concrete, daily struggle against imperialism, and the entire history of the post-war years shows how effective this struggle has been and continues to be.

The Soviet Union has played a decisive role in preventing a world war which the imperialists attempted to unleash many times in the past few years. The Soviet Union has given, and is still giving, assistance to the peoples fighting for freedom. In the international arena it undertakes actions which are conducive to the mobilization of all the progressive forces of the world. The firm and flexible policy of the Soviet government and of Comrade Khrushchov averted a nuclear catastrophe in the Caribbean and saved the heroic Cuban nation from the danger of invasion.

The fight against imperialism which the dogmatists proclaimed boils down to loud and unmasking phrases and name-calling. They criticize and present in a false light the policy of the Soviet Union on whose shoulders rests the main burden of the fight against imperialism and whose citizens, as a result of this, must often refuse themselves the most indispensable things. The dogmatists act this way even though without the help of the Soviet Union they could not hold their own in the face of imperialism. During the Cuban crisis the Albanian leaders did not stand on the side of the Soviet Union.

In actual fact they helped the imperialist provocateurs in kindling an armed conflict and in the endeavour to cause friction between the USSR and the U.S.A. At present, however, the dogmatists accuse the Soviet Union of having surrendered to imperialism and in a slanderous way speak of a "second Munich." No one can deny that *Pravda* is right when it states that whoever proclaims support for the policy of peaceful coexistence and at the same time criticizes the method of settling the Cuban crisis, actually rejects the policy of peaceful coexistence. The imperialist advocates of adventures see no possibility of winning in peaceful competition with Socialism. The dogmatists do not believe in the possibility of winning in peaceful competition with capitalism.

The differences with dogmatism, however, concern not only the questions of peace, war and peaceful coexistence.

The conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties recognized as desirable — from the viewpoint of the interests of the working class and its vanguard — the possibility of a Socialist revolution in a peaceful way, even though naturally, Communists do take into account the fact that an armed struggle may prove necessary. In practice, the dogmatists reject the possibility of the working class attaining power by peaceful means.

The CPSU is striving to strengthen the alliance of the Socialist countries with the new national states; it wishes all the disputes to be solved patiently by way of negotiations and wants to prevent acts which could weaken the friendship of the Socialist countries with the liberated states and which would undermine the position of the progressive forces of these countries. The dogmatists, on the other hand, are trying to fit the revolutionary processes in this varied world to one old pattern.

Marxist-Leninists regard the struggle for the purity of revolutionary science and for unity in the ranks of the international Communist movement as the internationalist duty of each Communist party. Guided by this idea, they are fighting against revisionism and against dogmatism and sectarianism, realizing that left opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism are becoming an increasingly serious danger in the world Communist movement. The dogmatists, on the other hand, acknowledge only the struggle against revisionism, at times applying the revisionist label to what is actually creative Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU has been consistently adhering to the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences regarding the unity of the Communist movement and regarding mutual relations between the Communist parties. On the other hand, the dogmatists resort to attacks on the unity of the Communist movement and strive to cause disunity and chaos in the movement. This is the aim of their present differentiation between the "temporary majority" and the "temporary minority" in this movement, and of their accusations that the international Communist movement is guilty of opportunism and Social-Democratic revisionism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, backed by the fraternal parties, is striving to unite all the forces of Socialism

and to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement. It is by these principles that it is guided in its relations with Socialist Yugoslavia. But Yugoslav Communists have taken a number of steps towards rapprochement and unity with the world Communist movement. There are still differences of opinion on many ideological questions. But Yugoslavia's rapprochement with the Soviet Union may make for a speedier overcoming of a number of these differences. The dogmatists on the other hand, consciously present Yugoslavia's position in a false light; they speak of "the restoration of capitalism" in the country and do their utmost to push the Yugoslav people out of the ranks of the fighters for Socialism.

"And regardless," states *Pravda* "of how the Albanian leaders and those who back them try to appear in the role of supporters of the documents of the Moscow conferences, the facts and the actions of these people prove that, on all the most important issues, they pursue a policy which is aimed against the agreed position of the international Communist movement..."

While criticizing dogmatism and presenting the differences between dogmatism and the science and practice of the Marxism-Leninism, *Pravda* comes out strongly for the elimination of the existing differences. The 1960 conference defined the basic principles for mutual relations between the parties. They envisage consideration of all questions on the basis of equality and stress the necessity for unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. *Pravda* emphasizes that the differences of views between the Communist parties are basically subjective in character and there are conditions for overcoming these differences. "We must keep in mind the most important aims and interests of the international Communist movement and search for ways and means to bring about a rapprochement, cooperation and unity."

Pravda does not limit itself to advancing this postulate. It indicates how it is possible to overcome these differences. "The CPSU is firmly convinced that a collective discussion of the most important questions of the present developments in the world, will make possible the unification of the international Communist movement."

We regard the *Pravda* article as an extremely important voice in this discussion. We share the views and feelings expressed by the Soviet comrades in this article. We solidarize ourselves with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the criticism of dogmatism and in the severe appraisal of all manifestations of deviation from the principles laid down by the conferences of Communist and Workers' parties. We are at one with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its endeavour to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement.

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA

First Secretary of the CC of the PZWP

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS
OF THE GERMAN SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY,
JANUARY 17, 1963

Dear Comrade Delegates:

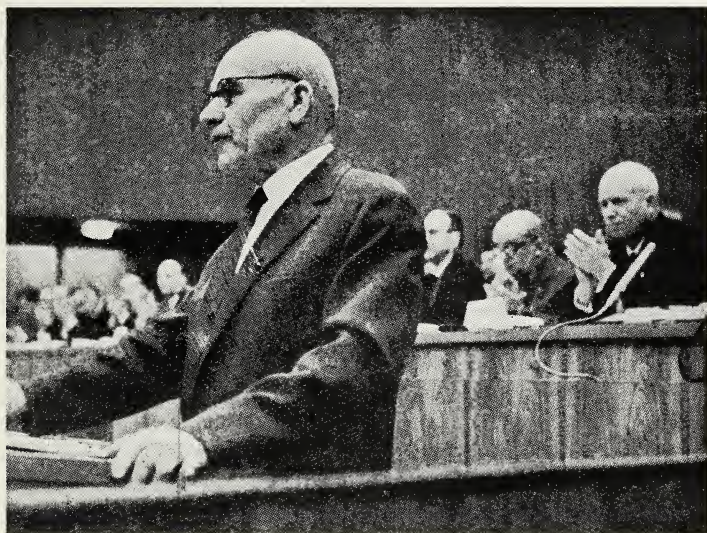
On behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and our entire party, I warmly greet the Sixth Congress of the fraternal German Socialist Unity Party and through you the more than one million six hundred thousand members of your party.

The Polish working class and all the working people of our country send you and all the people of the German Democratic Republic warm wishes for further successes and accomplishments in the building of Socialism on German soil, for further achievements in our common struggle to strengthen peace in Europe and the whole world.

Your party — the German Socialist Unity Party — has come to its Sixth Congress with great achievements.

We sincerely rejoice in your political and economic successes, we are in agreement with the general political line of your party, outlined in the report of Comrade Walter Ulbricht, and we express our deep conviction that the Sixth Congress will be a further great step on the road to strengthening and developing the first peaceful workers' and peasants' state in the history of Germany — the German Democratic Republic.

The working class and all the people of your Republic, following the line indicated by your party and government, are devoting themselves by their labour to the construction



COMRADE WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA ADDRESSES THE CONGRESS

of Socialism in town and country, and by their struggle for a peaceful Germany, are proving to the entire German nation and also to the entire world that despite the West German militarists and revenge-seekers, despite the policy of the Bonn government, there exists a peaceful, democratic alternative for Germany.

The fact that a state exists on German soil which is developing and rapidly gaining in strength, and, at the same time is pursuing a consistent policy of peace, is one of the most important factors of the qualitatively new situation in Europe, factors contributing to the strengthening of peace in this region of the world.

Today, no one can erase the German Democratic Republic from the political reality of Europe. History has forever broken the monopoly of the German militarists in representing Germany. The future of all Germany belongs to the forces of peace and Socialism.

These important historical changes which have taken place on German soil, in the German nation which has given birth to the great teachers of the international working class, the founders of scientific Socialism — Karl Marx and Frederick Engels — are particularly valued by the Polish people who many times in their history were the objects of aggression on the part of German militarism.

The fact that our two neighbouring countries are today joined by a frontier of friendship and peace, that instead of a German imperialist state, Poland now borders on a German Socialist state, that our parties and countries are joined by strong and lasting ties of a common ideology, fraternal friendship and cooperation, and an unbreakable alliance in the struggle for victory of peace and Socialism — this fact has created a new era in Polish-German relations. The increasingly successful development of friendship and cooperation by our parties and countries springs from proletarian internationalism, from membership in the Socialist community of nations, whose leading force is our great friend and ally, the Soviet Union.

An outstanding expression of the fraternal relations and growing international cooperation of our parties and countries was the recent visit of our party and government delegation to your country. In the desire to extend and deepen the cooperation between our countries at present and in the future, we took important decisions during the visit regarding the division of labour, cooperation, coordination, and specialization of production in several branches of industry and in other spheres of the economy.

Only in this manner, through a systematic extension of the scope of economic ties joining all member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, can both People's Poland and the German Democratic Republic and also the other Socialist countries attain a rapid rate of increase in their industrial production potential and in this way augment the successes of the Socialist system in its peaceful competition with the capitalist system. Our party and the entire Polish nation fully share the stand of the German Socialist Unity Party on the solution of the German problem. The security of the German Democratic Republic is the security of Poland. Together with all Socialist countries, we give full support to the steps which the government of the German Democratic Republic felt compelled to take in the sector of the state boundary with West Berlin after the refusal of the Western powers to conclude a peace treaty with Germany. This question was extensively and penetratingly discussed here by Comrade Khrushchov. We are in full agreement with his speech. A peace treaty with Germany and a normalization of the situation in West Berlin on the basis of such a treaty, is a question of the liquidation of the seeds of war in Europe — hence a question in which not only the Socialist states but also all the peoples of the European countries and the whole world are deeply interested. Only the imperialist warmongers can oppose it.

The speech of Comrade Khrushchov, characterized by a profound concern for peace, and giving a clear picture of the present international situation, the relationship of forces in the world, the basic ideological problems of the international Communist movement, the tasks and prospects of the further struggle to strengthen the Socialist camp and the further victories of Socialism, is of great and valuable aid to the work and struggle of all Communist and Workers' parties.

Our party has many times expressed its full support for the peaceful, principled policy of the Soviet Union — a policy which is marked by a great feeling of responsibility for the fate of mankind — for the Leninist policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government. Yesterday's speech by Comrade Khrushchov also expressed the position of our party.

We fully agree with the proposal put forward by Comrade Khrushchov that, regardless of the existing differences between the CPSU and the great majority of the Communist and Workers' parties on the one hand and the leadership of some Communist parties on the other, the public polemics and disputes should cease. These differences should be calmly and patiently eliminated through internal discussions.

The public polemics and the irresponsible attacks on the CPSU by the leadership of some Communist parties, which are harmful to the unity of the international Communist movement, took on increased intensity during the period of crisis in the Caribbean Sea. The leadership of these parties do not want to recognize that this crisis was successfully resolved for Cuba and the cause of Socialism thanks to the calm and reasonable policy of the Soviet Union, a policy permeated with a sense of deep responsibility.

This is not only our Communist point of view. A similar estimate has also been made by the enemies of Communism. As proof of this, we can quote many statements from the bourgeois press which serves the cause of imperialism. I will cite here the statement of a representative of American imperialism, whose role as such could hardly be questioned by the dogmatic critics of Soviet policy, former President of the United States, Eisenhower, who in a press interview evaluated the Cuban crisis as follows: "From our point of view, the whole matter resulted neither in a victory nor in a final settlement... Fidel Castro and Communism continue to exist...

From a Soviet point of view, Khrushchov's decisions were excellent..."

Mr. Eisenhower is only "delighted by the development of Chinese-Soviet differences," as he stated in this same interview.

Then whom and what purpose do the accusations leveled by the leadership of some Communist parties against the CPSU serve? An end should be put to such irresponsible polemics which delight the imperialists and are grist to the mill of all reactionary circles. What imperialism cannot take delight in, and what it attempts to damage by every means, is the unity of the Socialist camp which increases our strength in the struggle against imperialism. The Soviet Union is the main decisive force of the Socialist camp, without which no Socialist state could survive the struggle with imperialism. No Communist or Workers' party, particularly the parties of the Socialist countries, can forget this. The great strength of the Soviet Union and its nuclear military power, its central position in the Socialist camp, impose on the CPSU and the Soviet government a great responsibility for every step, for the fate of mankind. No other party, no other Socialist country carries such a heavy responsibility. Even for this reason alone, we can firmly demand from the leadership, for example, of the Albanian Party of Labour, at least greater modesty and moderation, if not feelings of responsibility. Wherever the question of peace or war is concerned, each Communist and Workers' party should exercise extreme caution in order not to commit an error in its policy. This principle takes on special significance where the CPSU and the Soviet government are involved. When matters lead to such a confrontation as took place during the days of the Caribbean crisis, when the question of peace or war was being decided, the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union simply

could not make any error. The whole world, all peoples feel deep gratitude towards the Soviet Union, the CPSU, and particularly towards Comrade Khrushchov for the fact that during the critical days of the Caribbean crisis he made a courageous decision which prevented plunging the world into a nuclear catastrophe. It is a bad thing, it does great harm to our cause when one or another party deviates in its policy from the general line, from the spirit and letter of the resolutions adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties at the two Moscow conferences — in 1957 and 1960. The harm done to the international Communist movement as a result of this can be repaired, however. These parties can and should change their harmful position and base themselves on the line laid down in the documents of the international conferences in Moscow. The cause of the struggle against imperialism, and the mission undertaken by the international Communist movement to protect mankind from a nuclear war, require this; the common cause of Socialism requires this.

The greater the unity of all Communist and Workers' parties, a unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the more united the Socialist camp, the more effectively can the international working-class movement tackle the enormous and difficult problems which are placed before it by history and the present day, and the more easily will the peoples of the Socialist countries be able to carry on the building of Socialism and Communism.

I desire here, at your Congress, to stress with great satisfaction that the relations between our parties and countries, between the Polish United Workers' Party and the German Socialist Unity Party, between the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic are marked by friendship, as between brothers. On all basic problems we take the same position. We march shoulder to shoulder together with our

common friend — the great Soviet Union, together with the entire Socialist camp and international Communist movement. With all my heart, I wish you and all the people of your Republic — on behalf of the PUWP, on behalf of the Polish people, great successes and victories in carrying out the new tasks outlined in the programme to be adopted by our historic Sixth Congress.

Long live the German Socialist Unity Party!

Long live the community of the Socialist nations and the unity of the international working-class movement, and may they grow stronger!

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic!

Long live peace and Socialism, and may they prevail!

JÓZEF KULESZA

Member of the CC of the PUWP

Deputy Chairman of the CCTU

AFTER THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF POLISH TRADE UNIONS

The 5th Congress of Polish Trade Unions, which was held in Warsaw from November 26 to December 1, 1962, was attended by 1044 delegates with voice and vote and 250 delegates with voice only, representing 6½ million Polish trade unionists.

The Congress heard invited fraternal delegates and guests from 31 countries, including a delegation from the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) led by its Secretary General, Comrade Louis Saillant, and a delegation from the International Labour Organization.

The participation of numerous representatives of trade unions from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America is indicative of the international interest in the Congress. It is an expression of the staunch solidarity of Polish trade unionists with working people the world over, an expression of the growing aspirations for unity in the defence of peace and social progress — a cause served by the entire activity of the Polish trade unions in the international trade union movement.

The keynote of the 5th Congress was the strengthening of the role and the increasing of the responsibility of Polish trade unions in the system of people's government, in the building of Socialism, and in the solution of problems connected with the development of the national economy and the growth of production, achieving all this in close relationship with the questions of the daily material and cultural welfare of the working people.

In his address to the Congress, the First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, Comrade Władysław Gomułka, said:

"In our People's State, whose leading force is the Polish United Workers' Party, in our Socialist system ruled by the working class and the working people, the trade unions are one of the main elements of this system, are one of the most important pillars of people's rule. This fact determines their role and tasks which coincide in content with the aims and efforts of our Party and our Socialist state."

The trade unions, as Comrade Gomułka pointed out, find in the Party their guiding force, find assistance and support for the fulfilment of the just demands put forward by the trade union movement, demands which are in accord with the interests of the construction of Socialism and with the interests of the working class.

At the same time, the trade unions constitute for our Party one of the main instruments for shaping the attitude of the masses.

"The strong support of the Party in the mass, autonomous trade unions is one of the most important sources of the strength, of its broad ties with the working masses."

In the past four years the Polish trade unions have implemented the line of the Party, have endeavoured to put that line into practice in their day-to-day activities and have done everything possible to ensure the broadest participation of the working masses in carrying out the directives of the Party regarding Socialist construction.

Party members working in the trade unions have also regarded it as their great duty to see to it that leading unionists take an active part in the preparation of the resolutions of the various Party bodies. This encouraged the trade union activists, and through them the entire trade union movement, to do everything in their power to put the resolutions into practice.



THE FIFTH TRADE UNION CONGRESS IN SESSION

Desirous of an increase in production and the national income and, at the same time, of ensuring a proper and just division of the fruits of work, the activities of the unions were based on the resolutions of the 4th Congress of Trade Unions held in 1953.

It could be said that the line of the trade unions worked out by the 4th T.U. Congress and based on the closest possible linking of production with those of welfare, has passed the test in the past four years and was recognized by the 5th Congress as being valid for the future as well.

Concentrating on ensuring a rise in production, implementation of the economic plans, on raising labour productivity and reducing production costs per unit and on a further increase in the living standard of the working people, the trade union

decisions and all their activities were mainly concerned with ways and means of giving assistance to the factory trade union organizations and of getting the maximum in this regard from the greatest number of workers.

During the past four years the trade unions have gone much more thoroughly into the question of economic planning at all levels: from the leading state organs, through the branch and local units of government, and all the way down to the factories. It has been — and still is — the desire of the trade unions, on the one hand, to collaborate with the state and economic organs in the most suitable allotment of financial and other resources as well as in the establishment of planned tasks, and, on the other hand, to develop the activity of the workers in the direction of maximum utilization of reserves for increasing production and improving the economic effects. There has been a steady growth of the movement of labour emulation and employee inventions, which has as its aim the amassing of means for a systematic improvement in the material and cultural conditions to ensure the further development of the country and to strengthen the Socialist manufacturing base.

We have endeavoured to promote the type of emulation, to encourage the sort of initiative which was most in accord with the requirements of the various sectors of the economy, branches of industry, and factories. The trade unions came to their Fifth Congress with the experience that labour emulation, the production activity of the workers, their readiness to overcome all difficulties in production, are best wherever the problems of production are talked over with the people as co-masters, wherever the needs of the state are presented, wherever the opinions of the workers are heeded and criticism is taken seriously, and wherever no opportunity is lost to improve the living and working conditions of the workers. The development of various concrete forms of emula-

tion — unfortunately not everywhere as yet — was helped by a comparison of the results obtained by kindred factories and groups of workers in the realm of productivity, production costs, and achievement of technical progress.

The workers of more than 12,000 work establishments are taking part in inter-factory emulation for victory banners. The emulation movement embraces some 40,000 teams and about 26,000 teams are competing for the title of Socialist Labour Brigade. Altogether, this movement involves more than 200,000 persons. A second great current of development of social initiative, the movement of work improvement and inventions by employees, embraces over 160,000 workers, engineers, and technicians organized in 3,300 Clubs of Technology and Work Improvement.

In the period between the 4th and 5th Congresses systematic work was done to regulate the system of the wage scales and to eliminate existing disproportions. All working people profited from a 30 per cent reduction in taxes on their wages and salaries. During this period a total of 60 collective agreements were signed, granting the workers a number of additional rights and improving their conditions. Marked progress was made in the field of industrial safety, which is expressed in the reduction of the total number of work accidents by 20.1 per cent during the years 1958-1962.

The number of workers taking advantage of holiday facilities run by the Trade Union Workers' Holiday Fund and work establishments rose from 480,000 to 834,000. In the years 1958-1961, working people received 440,800 housing units.

After the 4th Congress the workers strengthened their role in the management of their enterprises and in exercising social control through the workers' self-government functioning in 8,800 enterprises and extended considerably during the past

period by the election of more than 5,300 departmental workers' councils.

A measure of the ever broader basing of trade union work on social activists is provided, among other things, by the increase during the past four years in the number of social commissions in the works councils (trade union committees) from some 30,000 to more than 50,000, and the participation of some 15,000 experienced activists in the work of the problem commissions of the District T. U. Boards, of the provincial trade union commissions, of the Central T. U. Boards, and of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CCTU).

The work of the county and city trade union commissions, which coordinate local inter-union activity, is also based on social principles. There are more than 240 such commissions at present. The need for them was shown by life itself. To divide the tasks among this large active, to conduct broad and frank discussions along certain lines, to prevent empty talk, to make sure that the creative ideas of the broad social active are properly utilized — these, as experience shows, are pre-conditions for the constant widening of the circle of voluntary workers and for fruitful activity on their part.

Striving to heighten the effects of its work, our trade union movement is constantly seeking new solutions by means of creative discussions, by getting the opinions of the workers and by analyzing past experiences.

Thus, for instance, a union-wide discussion preceded the improvement of the principles of operation of the union-controlled loan and grant funds. The discussion showed the incorrectness of the views of some representatives of the administration who had come out with the idea of centralizing these funds, and brought about the elaboration of new, better principles of administering the funds by enhancing their social character.

Another example of the search for better, more social forms of organization, their adaptation to the new requirements, is the merging of the separate social insurance institutions concerned with sickness benefits, family allowances, maternity allowances and old age and invalids' pensions. The Board of this single institution has Supervisory Councils of which $\frac{3}{5}$ are trade union representatives delegated by union authorities and $\frac{2}{5}$ are representatives of the state administration. The activities of the Supervisory Councils ensure the trade unions a decisive influence on social insurance policy. Thanks to the work of the councils there has been a marked improvement in the procedure of handling social insurance applications and in the size of the pensions granted.

A broad discussion also preceded the enactment of a bill concerning workers' inventions. Its results were taken into account in the final formulation of the act and in the elaboration of the executive acts.

The various trade union committees have developed and are constantly improving the method of research work in the realm of production reserves, utilization of manufacturing capacities, production costs, family budgets, costs of living and wages, industrial safety, etc. These studies are helpful to the unions in adopting proposals and demands in accordance with the requirements and possibilities of the national economy. This work, done in the main by social activists, has also enabled the trade unions to take an active part in the improvement of methods of planning and management.

Only in closest contact with the broad masses of the working people can the trade unions cope with their growing tasks as an organization that is co-responsible for the Socialist state, for the proper correlation of present and future needs of all working people.

During the past four years there has been further substantial progress in the strengthening of Socialist democracy as expressed, among other things, by the growing participation of trade unions in the settlement of the affairs of the working class and the working people as a whole on the scale of both the enterprise and the entire state, by the development of workers' self-government and also, of particular importance, by the processes of decentralization, the transfer of rights and resources to the People's Councils, etc.

The greater role of unions, and above all, their increased responsibility and growing tasks, were reflected in the thesis which was drawn by a large commission at the 5th Congress and which was discussed at meetings with the Congress delegates, with the workers of factories and with the local union active. The report of the chairman of the CCTU, Ignacy Loga-Sowiński: "The Tasks of the Trade Unions in the Construction of Socialism, Improvement of Working Conditions and Living Conditions of the Working Masses," was based on the same factors.

The address to the Congress by Comrade Gomułka and also the Congress report concentrated the attention of the trade unions and the entire working class on the key issues of our economy, which could be put into the four following main groups:

- better management; reduction of production costs and raising of productivity in the entire national economy, thus ensuring conditions for a rise in real wages;
- intensification of export production;
- greater effectiveness of capital outlays;
- a further marked increase in agricultural output.

In all of these groups of problems the Congress worked out concrete lines of action, taking as the point of departure the difficulties which have appeared to date in the implementation

of the Five-Year Plan. The attention of the 76 delegates who took the floor at the Congress and of the nearly 250 delegates who spoke at commission meetings was concentrated on the key problems of social life. The discussion was a healthy one: there was no hesitation to criticize the many weak points still existing in the work of the trade unions, workers' self-government and the economic administration, while at the same time attention was drawn to constructive solutions — to possibilities for increasing output and reducing costs, for bringing down the cost and increasing the effectiveness of capital investment projects, for improving economic planning and management, etc. In the down-to-earth, businesslike discussion, in dealing with economic affairs in a mature manner, free from narrow particularism and one-sidedness, making the possibilities of solving urgent workers' needs dependent on the acquisition of appropriate means for this purpose by good management — the common denominator for all the views expressed was active engagement in the solution of problems set by life, discussion of means for ensuring a better tomorrow for all working people not in the form of empty postulates, but in translation into the language of concrete methods of action serving to accelerate the economic development of the country and providing for the most just division of the means obtained by good work.

In addition to matters of a fundamental nature — production, costs, wages, labour legislation and industrial safety, etc. in each factory or institution there are many minor, day-to-day problems and many shortcomings which can be eliminated within the given enterprise with the good will of the management and with appropriate initiative on the part of the social organizations. The Congress emphasized strongly that the results of the activities of all the trade union bodies will be all the more fruitful the deeper the union active goes into the needs and

moods of the masses, the more often it discusses problems with the workers, including difficult subjects, and draws the necessary conclusion from their criticism. The work of the trade unions, the resolution stresses, must be connected even more closely with the life of the workers and should serve the interests of the membership.

Among the many good proposals which were incorporated in the resolution of the Congress as a guide for action by the entire trade union movement, we shall limit ourselves in this article to the most important matters of a programmatic character. The Congress called on all trade union bodies to go in for greater concreteness in their work, to take the necessary steps that will ensure the attainment of all programmatic goals. Observance of this principle is particularly important in the activities of mass organizations where there is a constant danger of being lost in a maze of immediate issues and thus neglecting key problems that call for constant attention.

For instance, at the end of 1962 the trade unions made a critical appraisal of the procedure of the preparation and the delayed delivery by the administration of directive indices for the annual factory technical-industrial-financial plans for 1963. They also criticized the formal manner of elaborating plans on the basis of these indices by the Conferences of Workers' Self-Government, and called for a number of improvements both in planning itself and in the work of the self-government organs on the plan.

Drawing conclusions from the past, we put before the government the need of the plan indices being sent to the enterprises at an appropriately early date in order to ensure a thorough discussion of the indices in the enterprises so as to clear up differences, to include in the plans the suitable proposals of the workers' self-government, and to work out ways and means for implementing the plan with respect to all

the indices. We also drew attention to the need of amending the plans during implementation in accordance with the demands of life. Another important matter which we raised was that of ensuring the early introduction of changes into the enterprise plans by the superior authorities in agreement with the enterprises in order to enable the latter to prepare to carry out the new tasks.

Along with the government we saw to the timely preparation of the outline plan. A plan was drawn up for help to be given by trade union representatives and representatives of government departments and industrial associations to the Conferences of the Workers' Self-Government, and improvements were made in the machinery of procedure for disputes arising between the self-government and the administration with regard to the indices of the plan.

This made for better preparation of the enterprises for acceptance of the production tasks for 1963 and substantially strengthened the position of the self-government as an organ making a social appraisal of the targets and acting as a mobilizing factor for their implementation.

In a manner free of formalism, the Congress took a position on the problem of production activization of the workers through the development of Socialist labour emulation, the accent being placed on the need of encouraging workers' initiative, concentration on the most difficult sectors, and close cooperation between the economic administration and the engineering and technical personnel in ensuring conditions conducive to the development of this movement. Emphasis was also laid on the need of a comprehensive approach to the tasks of labour emulation, linking them with an improvement in industrial safety and hygiene, a rise in the quality of production, and an improvement in the organization of work. Teams

and departments of Socialist labour will continue to play the leading role in this qualitatively new emulation.

We shall also concentrate on the second great stream of social initiative — the promotion of labour improvement and invention.

Appreciating the creative contribution of the people of science and technology to the building of the economic strength of People's Poland, the Congress resolution called for the granting of state prizes for achievements in the field of technical progress and for improvements and new developments serving to increase industrial safety and hygiene.

The Congress also decided to include in the Workers' Self-Government Conferences representatives of the factory circles of the Supreme Technical Organization as well as representatives of the youth organization, the Socialist Youth Union.

Implementation of the demands with regard to wages and social welfare depends on the production and economic results of the next few years.

As far as wages are concerned, the Congress called for the wage policy to continue to provide for a more rapid rise in wages of the lowest-paid employees, elimination of the wage disproportions and, in accordance with the accumulation of finances and with possibilities of the state, to make wage adjustments, in the first place, for those groups of employees whose earnings have for a long time remained unchanged and in disproportion to the earnings of other employees.

Improvement of material incentives, liquidation of anti-incentives, better planning of the wages fund and employment, greater use of the works fund as an incentive — these important matters, too, were taken up by the Congress.

The Congress resolution stressed the need for the observance of the rule of law in work relations. While calling for the strengthening of the rule of law in work relations and for

stricter work discipline, on the one hand, and for full implementation of collective agreements and labour legislation on the other, the Congress pointed to the necessity of improving the work of the Arbitration Boards and of simplifying the procedure in the consideration of disputes involving work relations. In this connection, the idea was put forward of the future establishment of a single appeals body, in which trade union representatives would also sit, that would have the final say in all such cases. The initiative taken of setting up social employees' courts was approved and their great importance emphasized.

Practice thus far as well as the Congress discussion have fully confirmed the need of a better formulation by the trade unions of proposals and demands concerning production and the living and working conditions of different groups of employees.

The more thorough the knowledge and preparation of the trade unions for an all-round estimation of the economic situation, the deeper the analytical work appraising the way family budgets shape up and, at the same time, how wages operate as an economic instrument, the more mature and realistic will be the demands which the representatives of the employees — the trade unions — will present to the leading government bodies.

This requires a broader development of the analytical research work started after the 4th T.U. Congress regarding the economics of branches of industry and factories, production costs, possibilities for a rise in labour productivity, quality of production, systems of wages, family budgets, prices and market supplies, vocational qualifications, spending of free time after work, mass culture, etc.

Among the most important matters connected with improvement of working conditions and the daily welfare of the masses

of working people the Congress pointed, among other things, to the urgent need to enact a new law on industrial safety and hygiene, in keeping with the modern requirements of protection of the labour and health of the workers.

An important function is played by the 200,000-strong army of factory social labour inspectors who, by checking the state of the machines and other factory facilities, exert an influence in improving the working conditions in line with the requirements of industrial safety and hygiene.

Taking into consideration the need to strengthen social control over the working conditions in the factories, the Congress supported the initiative of the trade unions in appointing additional cadres of technical labour inspectors functioning on social principles and empowered by law to inspect working conditions. Thus in this field too the base of social action will be strengthened.

Experience shows that, with the growing funds allocated by the state, the effects of our work on this important front for ensuring better working conditions could be much greater if the attitude of our activists were marked by greater consistency and persistence, if sanctions would be applied flexibly for infringements in this field, if there would be a more thorough inspection of machines and plant newly introduced into production as well as the production of protective clothing from the viewpoint of the requirements of industrial safety, and finally, if the trade unions would go still more deeply into the mechanism of economic planning and ensure appropriate decisions on the part of the economic organs.

The superiority of Socialism over capitalism is already fully visible in this field as well, a field which is of such vital significance for the working class; we can, and must, make even fuller use of the financial and material means to improve working conditions, to reduce the accident rate even more.

The situation also requires — and this was emphasized in the Congress resolution — a coordinated campaign against pollution of the air and water, against noise, and further efforts in the fight to improve the state of sanitation of towns and settlements.

There is much to be done in the field of legislation as well.

The Congress emphasized the necessity of simplifying the procedure of investigation and the procedure of granting accident compensation and increasing the responsibility of work establishments in this respect. Emphasis has also been put on the need of improving the work of the industrial health service, especially in the realm of combating occupational diseases and broader use of prophylaxy; it is also imperative to make an all-round improvement in the methods and organization of sanatorium, health resort and rehabilitation treatment. In its concern for a better utilization of the material base and for a higher level of services with regard to treatment and rest, the Congress recognized the advisability of the future merging of the institutions of the Workers' Holiday Fund and the State Health Resorts into a single health and rest institution.

Much attention was devoted in the Congress resolution to the problems of the fuller satisfaction of the housing needs of the working people. In addition to strengthening the supervision of the trade union organs over the observance of the socially correct principles in the allocation and division of new housing, attention was concentrated here mainly on the question of bringing down the cost and raising the efficiency of housing construction, among other things, through the use of thrifty building methods, standardization of projects, observance of the norms during the designing phase and through strict observance of the principles of rational use of materials. All these measures should permit the number of dwelling rooms envisaged in the

current Five-Year Plan to be raised from 1,800,000 to at least 2,000,000. One of the measures supported by the trade unions is cooperative and factory housing construction, which provides for contribution by the population towards the outlays for housing construction.

Educational problems have always taken a foremost place in the work of the trade unions. Generally speaking, all forms of social activation of the workers are connected with educational work. Daily contact with the workers, explanation of many matters to people, takes the activist into the many problems affecting the working class, and at the same time reveals all sorts of weaknesses in the functioning of our economy, in relations between people, etc.

Important is the ability to draw conclusions from all this, and to cull from them tasks not only for trade union work but also tasks which require solution by a branch of industry or the economy.

The higher the level, style and efficiency of the daily work, the greater the personal engagement of the activist both with regard to persistent explanation of the line of our action, the difficulties and tasks, and, on the other hand, with regard to drawing proper conclusions from the comments of workers, the more effective will be the work of the trade unions in fulfilling their social function of moulding the Socialist consciousness and civic attitude of the working people.

There are also many practical matters requiring the active participation of the trade unions. The task of preparing hundreds of thousands of new workers with high vocational skills requires greater concern on the part of the trade union movement for the development of forms of training by factory schools and inside factories, for assistance to employees taking courses, for the development of adult education, and for the popularization of technical and economic knowledge in close collaboration

with the Supreme Technical Organization and the Polish Economic Society.

Mention should be made here that in past years there had been proposals to make the Supreme Technical Organization an affiliate of the trade unions. However, in view of the strong traditions and specific needs of engineering and technical personnel, the trade unions came out in favour of that organization remaining separate, but with strict principles being laid down for cooperation at central and local level.

This concept is being vindicated more and more in practice. A new phase in this cooperation has been opened at present by the inclusion of the Supreme Technical Organization representatives in the workers' self-government in factories.

Similar problems, though on a different plane, have also appeared in creative circles — actors, writers, painters, sculptors, etc. — and their associations. Here, too, the most correct division was marked out between the problems covered by the activities of trade unions and the creative associations, the unions of course not giving up their influence on the moulding of the ideological essence of artistic creativeness in accordance with the objectives of Socialist education. On the contrary, we strive to bring the creative circles closer to our mass movement for the dissemination of culture, to the amateur ensembles and cultural centres. In this regard, we also support all local social initiative aimed at improving cultural life in the various localities.

Many of these matters require re-examination, as for instance, the proper profile of cultural activities in conditions when there are mass media of communication and dissemination of culture, or, for instance, the profile of the proper organization of leisure time after work and rest during holidays.

The problem of the development of culture and education, as well as such questions as the economic activization of the

individual areas, the promotion of health, rest, sports and tourism, are the subject of ever closer cooperation by our provincial and county trade union organizations with the People's Councils. We have striven constantly to make this cooperation more concrete, in keeping with the tendency towards decentralization and with the strengthening of the position and role of the People's Councils. Recently, for instance, in line with the resolution of the 5th Congress agreement has been reached with the Ministry of Culture regarding the principles of cooperation between People's Councils and trade unions in shaping the cultural policy and in joint coordination of the entire development of cultural life.

The Congress resolution emphasized that the participation of the trade unions in the preparation of the country's long-range programme for the development of the country up to 1980 should have in mind, among other things, the ensuring of substantial improvement in conditions of work, health and rest, by means of gradual reduction of working time, elimination of heavy labour, creation of fully Socialist labour legislation — conditions which would eliminate the certain differences which still exist between the rights of white-collar workers and manual workers.

More thorough preparation for work on the long-range programme for the national economy will enable the unions to fully express the position of the trade union movement on the most vital issues of the state and all working people and, at the same time, to draw all the trade union organizations, the workers' self-government and entire factory staffs into work for speeding up the country's development, for increasing its resources and for the most effective utilization of its potential.

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The Congress opened a new stage in trade union work. The more difficult economic tasks and the greater social require-

ments call for a higher degree of responsibility by the trade unions as an important link in the system of the People's State, as a mainstay of the Party and people's government. The best measure of the trade unions' fulfilment of their varied tasks is how the working class, how the workers of different factories assess the presence, participation and contribution of the trade unions to the solution of the many economic and human problems which each day brings; how they assess the effectiveness of trade union criticism, trade union assistance and intervention wherever a person has been wronged and wherever incompetence or ill will cause economic losses, hinder production, reduce its effects, and harm the cause of society. The trade unions are appraised according to the way they encourage healthy initiatives, how they fight for the implementation of sound proposals submitted by workers, how they fight for workers' security, how they counteract bureaucratic distortions, and how correctly they link the general interests of society with the interests of the individual.

Complete and proper fulfilment of the many functions and duties requires a steady broadening of the voluntary trade union active, constant extension of the front of social action, and preparation of the trade unions to carry out the many new tasks cropping up as a result of the needs and development tendencies of social life under Socialism.

These objectives also make it necessary to arm the trade union activists with knowledge, to develop the necessary skills, to mould the attitude of the activist, to see to his high morals, to strengthen among the activists the spirit of Party consistency of action wherever there is need of convincing, of mobilizing, of uncompromising struggle against evil, against bureaucracy. Hence, too, the importance of training the trade union and workers' self-government active — upon which we are placing increasing emphasis — in order that the work of the unions and

the self-government should be more concrete and bring better results.

We are an organization of the working class, the most dedicated, leading class of our nation. Its causes, its welfare, the welfare of the system of social justice created by it — under the leadership of the Party — are the guide line for our activities.

We serve the cause of the working class, the cause of Socialism — herein is expressed most fully the synthesis of the role and functions of the trade unions in our country.

In the Congress thesis and during the discussion at the Congress itself, much place was also devoted to the question of economic cooperation between the Socialist states. We considered how the trade unions could help in the development of this cooperation.

The trade unions will participate actively in the implementation of the decisions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; they will do their utmost to participate to the maximum in the development and strengthening of economic cooperation between the Socialist states.

We know how very important this cooperation is for the growth of the economic potential of the entire Socialist system. We see broad possibilities for each country in our camp to achieve a more rapid rise in production capacity and a more rapid increase in the living standards of the working masses.

Within the framework of this economic cooperation between the Socialist states we shall be able to obtain a higher efficiency of production and capital investment, we shall be able to make better and more effective use of the resources, and to obtain greater progress in science and technology.

Of particular interest to the trade unions will be such problems as the international Socialist division of labour, specialization and cooperation in production and coordination of capital

investment in the basic branches of the national economies of the Socialist states.

In their practical activity, the trade unions will popularize the best achievements in the various spheres of life of the countries of our camp, will make use of the experience acquired by each of these countries and will utilize their experience and their best methods of work.

The 5th Congress devoted much attention to the activities of Polish trade unions in the international labour movement in the spirit of the principle of proletarian internationalism to which Polish trade unions adhere and shall continue to be true. Our trade unions have participated actively in various solidarity campaigns undertaken by the World Federation of Trade Unions, they gave their support and often material assistance to the trade unions and working class of capitalist countries fighting against capitalist exploitation, for trade union rights, and for the fundamental interests of the working people.

The 5th Congress gave expression to complete solidarity and recognition for the wise and farsighted policy of the Soviet government and, personally, of Comrade Khrushchov during the conflict in the Caribbean and for saving mankind from the threat of atomic annihilation.

In the present international situation the trade unions have brought to the fore the problem of unity of action by the world trade union movement. We take the stand that in spite of the differences in viewpoints and convictions, there is a great need at present for unity of action by trade unions of all countries in the fight to avert the menace of a nuclear war, for complete and general disarmament, for a lasting peace and for cooperation among nations — in the fight to safeguard the interests of the working class.

Knowing the great importance of cooperation with the trade unions of the fraternal Socialist countries in order to accelerate

the rate of Socialist construction, and hence, the improvement of the working and living conditions of the working masses, our trade unions will take an active part in the broad exchange of experience between factories, Socialist labour brigades, inventors and innovators, technicians, engineers, workers of science, culture and education, and health.

The Polish trade unions will continue to strengthen unity of action with the trade unions and workers in the capitalist countries, in their fight against the monopolies, for an improvement in the economic conditions of the working class of these countries, for democratic freedoms and trade union rights.

We shall strengthen cooperation with the trade unions of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their just struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national independence, for the liberation of the dependent and less developed countries from oppression and exploitation by capitalist monopolies.

The 5th Congress demonstrated eloquently the firm determination of the Polish trade unions in their striving to increase and further concretize their participation in the construction of Socialism, in strengthening the forces of People's Poland and in the solution of the problems of the working class.

Polish trade unionists will work with still greater passion and thoroughness, with a still greater sense of responsibility for the cause of Socialism, to carry out the recommendations and tasks set by the Party and the resolutions of the 5th Congress.

EXPERIENCES OF PARTY WORK

THE WORK OF NEIGHBOURHOOD PARTY GROUPS IN URBAN CENTRES

At the initiative of the Organizational Department of the CC and on the basis of a questionnaire worked out by the Department, most of the City and Borough Committees made an analysis of the work of 400 neighbourhood Party groups in urban centres at the end of 1962.

The analysis covered the neighbourhood Party groups with major achievements in the development of socio-economic and political-educational activities in their area of operation.

These groups, organized throughout the country on the basis of the Statutes adopted at the 3rd Congress of the PUWP, can boast of no mean accomplishments and much valuable experience. By September 30, 1962, the City and Borough Committees set up 3,533 neighbourhood groups in the country. The instructions of the Organizational Department of the CC lay down the organizational principles and the line of activity of neighbourhood Party groups.

The core of these groups is made up of comrades working actively in the Block, Housing Estate and Parents' Committees, in National Unity Front Committees, Commissions of the People's Councils, and other civic organizations. These comrades, on the basis of their declared desire, were delegated by the Party branches to work in their places of residence. They hold leading positions in civic organizations or take part in the work of particular sections (cultural and educational, legal ad-

vice, social welfare, sport, etc.). Their activities are specified; the tasks are concrete and take into account the personal interests and possibilities of each comrade. The City and Borough Committees guide the work of neighbourhood Party groups by setting up social Commissions or Teams which look after the groups. Furthermore, the Committees summarize the experiences of the groups and lay down the line for their work.

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An essential element conducive to the development of the activities of neighbourhood Party groups was the process of granting greater independence to the People's Councils as masters of their own localities hence acquiring a greater sense of responsibility for all local affairs and greater interest in finding local economic and social reserves and in promoting economic and socio-political activity. Decentralization enhanced the significance of the ties between the People's Council and the population; it augmented the role of social initiative and control.

In this situation, the existence of organized Party groups in the place of residence became an extremely necessary instrument by means of which the Party and the people's authorities could get directly to the inhabitants.

The neighbourhood Party groups have come a long way: from the pioneer measures connected with taking up partial, often small matters of their localities, through attempts to solve day-to-day grievances, problems and difficulties of the inhabitants, to initiation of ever greater community projects and development of institutional forms of residents' self-government. It should be added that the neighbourhood Party groups have been greatly instrumental in activizing local units of the National Unity Front, Block Committees, Parents' Committees and other civic organizations which included experienced and de-

voted Party activists. Thus, the enormous human potential of Party and non-party people was strengthened and activated in the place of residence which, under the new conditions, has become a major element in the social activization of the population of many towns. This potential however has been put into action only where the Party Committees have understood and appreciated its role and managed to create a concrete field for effective work.

I.

The analysis has deliberately covered only those Party groups which in the several years of their existence have acquired much practical experience and have done good work.

From the analysis made by the Provincial Committees it appears that the best neighbourhood Party groups have acquired the difficult skill of combining work on economic-communal affairs with socio-political and educational work among the population. For a long time, economic-communal problems predominated in the work of the neighbourhood groups. At present, a marked increase can be noted in educational-political and cultural work. This is closely connected with the fact that, to a much more considerable extent than in previous years, in addition to workers also engineers, lawyers, doctors and other professional people take part in the work of neighbourhood Party groups and civic organizations.

The development of socio-political and cultural-educational work in the place of residence is also helped by the opening of many clubrooms, by many factory clubrooms being made available to the population, by better equipment of clubrooms, by clubrooms being opened by the National Unity Front Committees (NUFC) and some Block Committees, and by some factory and office cinemas being made available, especially by work

establishments acting as "patrons" over housing estates in which their employees live. Broad political and cultural work has been developed in the housing estates, apartment buildings and districts — with considerable participation and initiative on the part of the neighbourhood groups, especially during the election campaign for the Sejm and People's Councils, in campaigns connected with the anniversaries of the liberation of Poland, during "Wrocław Days," "Ten Centuries of Gdańsk," and in connection with the 20th anniversary of the Polish Workers' Party.

At the initiative of many neighbourhood Party groups — with the help of clubrooms, local libraries and educational and cultural workers — lectures and discussions are organized on political and scientific subjects, also entertainment and sports events.

Neighbourhood Party groups have worked out certain regular forms of work for their areas.

1. A regular element in the work of the groups is the organization, together with the NUFC, of meetings of the residents with the town councillors and deputies to the Sejm on subjects of interest to the population. These meetings, organized regularly since the last elections, concern the subject-matter of the session or specific decisions of the People's Council, as well as matters requiring solution within the bounds of the given apartment building, housing estate or street. The meetings are one of the forms of breaking through the red tape in settling the affairs of citizens — a form of direct link between the People's Council and the population.

2. Many groups have also undertaken the popularization of the law and legislation. These subjects are dealt with at meetings with judges, prosecutors and functionaries of the People's Militia, organized by a number of local Party groups in Gdańsk, Łódź, Wrocław, Gliwice, Zabrze, Radomsk, Tarnowskie

Góry and other towns. In Wrocław, several Block Committees have set up permanent legal advice centres on tenant law, family law, etc.

3. At the initiative of some neighbourhood groups and community workers, special voluntary councils have been set up at health centres in Wrocław and other places which work for the improvement of the functioning of the medical services, take up the popularization of the principles of hygiene, the development of the principles of prophylaxis and health protection, and see to it that order is maintained in receiving patients.

4. The Block and Housing Estate Committees have set up many Children's Committees which together with, and the assistance of, the Society of Children's Friends, the Women's League, the Union of Polish Pioneers movement, and youth organizations, work with children, organize children's playgrounds and children's clubs, assist children — with difficult conditions at home — in their lessons, etc.

5. The Party groups, in conjunction with the NUFC, also organize neighbourly assistance for the aged and sick, and those in difficult material conditions. Activities of this type are developed especially wherever women make up a large part of the membership of the groups (Lublin, for instance).

II.

Community projects are among the most lasting and widely developed forms of work in places of residence. Initiated by the neighbourhood groups several years ago, they have now assumed a broad character in some towns. The launching of these projects has been favoured by increased interest on the part of the local People's Councils and Party committees in the communal economy, in the growth of towns, in their appearance and by the improved functioning and greater autonomy of the

local administrations. In many areas the long-range plans for the development of towns, housing estates, districts, and individual projects are worked out with the participation of large groups of residents. The concrete material and organizational assistance given by the People's Councils in this regard has created a broad base for the launching of community projects. There are hundreds of examples of such projects for public use — club-rooms, playgrounds, sports fields, squares, etc. — built by voluntary contributions of funds and labour. Well known is the national campaign to build 1,000 schools to mark the thousandth anniversary of the Polish state.

The increase in the activity of the population is, in the main, connected with the rise in the influence of tenants on the fate of their apartment building, their housing estate, district and town. The opportunity to have a say in these matters, has increased their sense of responsibility for their town and housing estate and created conditions for the development of all sorts of forms of tenants' self-government, mainly through the implementation of the legal rights of the Block and Housing Estate Committees and the development round them of various sections in which work many civic activists. From sporadic cases of interest in the quality of repairs, or intervention in conflicts among tenants — things which the local Party groups or, at their inspiration the Block Committees, dealt with in the first period of their activity — the forms of social control by the tenants began to assume a more organized institutional character. The process of development of tenants' self-governments took on a greater impetus in many provinces after the last elections to the Sejm and People's Councils.

The Block and Housing Estate Committees, the NUFC and other civic organizations functioning in the residential areas, reinforced by the Party active have — in addition to their

members — been involving more and more tenants in their activities.

In the context of the development of tenants' self-government, it seems useful to draw attention to the new experience acquired in this respect in Wrocław, Łódź and Sosnowiec.

1. In Wrocław, Civic Housing Estate Self-Governments have been set up in order to concentrate the social forces and co-ordinate their activities in the various districts. The Self-Governments are made up of representatives from the neighbourhood Party groups, the Block Committees, the NUFC, the Socialist Youth Union, the Women's League, schools, councillors, administrators and executives from work establishments in the area. After acquainting itself with the plans and possibilities of the People's Council with regard to finances, materials and transport, the Housing Estate Self-Government takes the initiative of working out plans for the development of the housing estate and for drawing the tenants into their implementation. In order to ensure the execution of the plans, it has become the practice for agreements to be signed by representatives of the Borough People's Council and the Housing Estate Self-Government. For the sake of closer ties with the tenants, the Presidiums of the Borough People's Councils hold special meetings in their districts which are attended by the activists of the Self-Governments and which discuss ways and means of carrying out the tasks agreed upon.

There has been a considerable broadening of the scope of activity of the Block Committees, their sections and teams. Here is a list of some of their activities: periodic social inspection of flats, establishment of the priority of needs and the schedule for minor repairs to be made on the basis of social inspection, the appointment of voluntary guardians for apartment buildings and sections, control of the Housing Administration with regard to the advisability of financial expenditure and the use of build-

ing materials, efficiency of the work of the caretakers, proper attention to the complaints of tenants, etc.

Some Block Committees have introduced social forms of managing the buildings. The tenants themselves draw up the rules for the given building and, as a result, there has been an improvement in the appearance of the buildings and the courtyards. In other cases, tenant commissions look after the requests of tenants for repairs and establish the order in which they will be made.

In housing estates which are expanding, there are social Construction Committees which supervise the quality of building work and see to the completion on schedule of new projects. Similar Construction Committees are coming into being in new housing estates being built.

A number of Block Committees have also set up their own form of citizens' courts which look into disputes between tenants and settle conflicts.

2. Neighbourhood Party groups in Łódź have a long history and no mean accomplishments to their credit. The fact that in Łódź the core of these groups are comrades working actively in the Block Committees, Housing Estate Committees and other civic organizations, has made for their stabilization and has enhanced their authority among non-party people.

The Łódź Committee, with the participation of lawyers and People's Councils, has set up Social Mediation Commissions and worked out their rules. The draft of the rules was subjected to discussion by the activists of the Party, the NUFC, the People's Councils and chairmen of the Block Committees in the various housing estates. On the basis of the rules adopted, Social Mediation Commissions have been set up in 137 Block Committees. These Commissions have come into being above all in those apartment buildings in which conflicts between tenants were most frequent.

In spite of the relatively brief period of activity, the Social Mediation Commissions are winning the recognition of tenants. This is indicated by the fact that persons asked to come to the Commission do come, agree to their cases being taken up, and frequently accept recommendations for compromise solutions. Out of a total of 100 conflicts considered by the Commissions in October 1962, only in 16 cases was it not possible to reconcile the disagreeing parties.

3. A different, unique, and equally interesting development is to be noted in the Party neighbourhood work in Katowice Province, namely the establishment of Social Initiative Groups in Sosnowiec (at the inspiration of the City Committee of the PUWP), which have come into being on the basis of broadly-developing community projects. The activities of the Social Initiative Groups consist of involving the broad masses of Party and non-party people in the implementation of the tasks connected with the city-wide plan to undertake various public projects which would make Sosnowiec a better and more beautiful town.

The success of this undertaking was assured by the active participation of the City Committee of the PUWP, the Presidium of the City People's Council, the City Committee of the National Unity Front, and the Democratic Party, which helped to dovetail the voluntary community work done with the plans of the city and to give the campaign an organized character. For this purpose, the City Committee of the Party set up a Commission to coordinate the voluntary work. The formation of the Social Initiative Groups was preceded by considerable propaganda work. A joint appeal was issued to the inhabitants, and the achievements of the Initiative Groups were widely popularized by the press, radio and television. This made for the strengthening and rapid development of the Groups.

In accordance with the requirements of the city, the pro-

gramme of the work was comprehensive and varied. During 1961-1962 the City Committee met twice with the active for a discussion on this subject. In May of last year, a city Party-economic conference issued the slogan: every Party member works in a Social Initiative Group. The press published an appeal by the conference to the inhabitants of the town, urging them to take part in the work of the Groups. A plan was prepared by the Presidium of the City People's Council with the assistance of numerous engineers and technicians, which, along with the complete technical documentation, was discussed in March 1962 at a plenary meeting of the City Committee that was attended also by the active of the National Unity Front, the Social Initiative Groups, directors, First Secretaries of Factory Party Committees, trade union activists, and leading people from other mass organizations. Thanks to the voluntary work of 50,000 inhabitants, the "Spring 62" campaign gave the city new boulevards. Greenery was laid out on 115 acres, three swimming pools were built, 5,700 square feet of sidewalks were laid, etc.

Altogether, 232 Social Initiative Groups were set up in Sosnowiec. The most active Party members were asked to work in the various teams and as organizers of the Groups. Teams of experts — engineers, mechanics, electricians, etc. — were formed in the Initiative Groups. Each Social Initiative Group has a documentary souvenir book with pictures of the site before and after the work. After the job has been done the book is turned over to the archives of the City People's Council. A characteristic feature of the Social Initiative Groups is that the voluntary work is done in the centre of the city as well, in contrast to the previous practice of local Party groups which accomplished most in the suburbs.

A second element in the work of the Social Initiative Groups is the conclusion of agreements with the City People's Council on the execution of certain work; these agreements, in addition

to listing the projects to be built, the duration of the work, and cost estimates, give a schedule for the supply of materials by the Presidium and the number of man-hours to be put in by the residents. The agreement also covers the range of tasks of the "patron" factories and offices which provide materials and voluntary workers for the given projects. These are tasks taken up by the Factory Party Committees and the organs of workers' self-government. In practice the Social Initiative Groups coordinate the community work in the city — that is, the activities of the NUFC, the neighbourhood Party groups, and other social organizations which initiate and organize the work — and draw into this activity the employees of factories and institutions as well as the population of the city.

In appraising this experience, the Sosnowiec City Committee finds that in addition to the considerable material results, there has been an enlivening of the work of the NUFC since the scope of the new tasks calls for more frequent meetings with the tenants, meetings of employees, meetings with women, etc. The work of the Social Initiative Groups has been analyzed by the Executive of the Provincial Committee in Katowice, which has approved this type of community work. The experience of Sosnowiec has also been discussed by all the City and County Committees in Katowice Province, and the Gliwice and Zabrze City Committees have proceeded to organize Social Initiative Groups in their areas.

On the basis of the experience of a number of committees, especially of Łódź, Wrocław and Sosnowiec, it may be said that the line of broadening tenants' self-government is correct. For its aim is to promote respect for social property, to develop Socialist relations among people, to encourage mutual assistance, to promote a sense of collective responsibility, and to encourage the residents to display initiative and take an active part in public affairs. Of considerable importance is the drawing of councillors,

living in the given area, into the community campaigns, since their active participation can ensure better work on the part of Council Commissions, broaden social control over the activities of the Council, and lead to closer ties between the latter and the population.

CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN POLAND IN JANUARY 1963

1 On the occasion of the New Year, Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, delivered an address to the nation in which he summed up the achievements recorded in the past year and outlined the current tasks.

● In connection with the national holiday of the Republic of Cuba — the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution, Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUPP, sent a telegram of greetings to Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the United Revolutionary Organizations. Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State, and Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of greetings to Osvaldo Dorticos, President of the Republic of Cuba, and to Fidel Castro, Premier of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba.

● The party leaders and the heads of state of the USSR and Poland exchanged telegrams of best wishes for the New Year.

4-5 A plenary meeting of the General Board of the Rural Youth Union was held in Warsaw. The meeting discussed the development of the cultural movement among rural youth.

6 Comrade Edward Gierek, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Secretary of the Central Committee and First Secretary of the Katowice Provincial Committee of the PUPP, was awarded the Order of Builders of People's Poland on the occasion of his 50th birthday. The Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CC of the PUPP sent him a letter of congratulations and best wishes.

7-8 Polish-Czechoslovak economic talks on the subject of immediate problems pertaining to economic cooperation between the

two countries, especially regarding the fulfilment of mutual deliveries in 1962, were held in Prague. Also under discussion were questions concerning previously undertaken obligations with regard to specialization, trade in 1963, and preparations for the 8th Session of the Polish-Czechoslovak Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation. Piotr Jaroszewicz, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, was one of Poland's representatives in these talks.

8 A plan for cultural and scientific cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the USSR in 1963, was signed in Moscow. The new plan provides for much broader cooperation, particularly in the field of scientific exchange.

9 *Trybuna Ludu* published an editorial entitled "Foundations of Unity" in which it expressed solidarity with the article appearing in *Pravda* — the central organ of the CPSU — entitled "Let us Strengthen the Unity of the Communist Movement for the Victory of Peace and Socialism." The editorial gave wholehearted support to the CPSU in its efforts to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement.

10-14 At the invitation of Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP,

and Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the CC of the CPSU and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and N. V. Podgorny, member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU and First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, spent a few days in Poland while on their way to Berlin to attend the 6th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party.

12 On the 20th anniversary of Nazi mass reprisals against the inhabitants of Warsaw, the residents of the Polish capital paid homage to the victims of fascist barbarism — political prisoners murdered by the Nazis in the Pawiak prison. A roll call of the victims was read at the gates of the former prison.

● A protocol for scientific cooperation between the Academies of Sciences of Poland and the USSR in 1963, was signed in Moscow. Scientific cooperation between the two academies is to be considerably broadened during the current year.

15-21 At the invitation of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party, a delegation of the PUWP, headed

by Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, attended the 6th Congress of the German party. On January 17, Władysław Gomułka addressed the Congress.

16-30 At the invitation of Ignati Novikov, Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, a Polish government delegation, including Julian Tokarski, Deputy Premier of the Council of Ministers, and Marian Olewiński, Minister of Construction and the Building Materials Industry, visited the Soviet Union. The members of the delegation acquainted themselves with the technical progress and methods of organization in construction, especially with the methods of proceeding with capital outlay in agriculture and building in the countryside. The delegation visited Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Minsk.

17 An agreement was signed in the United Nations headquarters in New York, between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the F.A.O. regarding the establishment of a Food and Nutrition Institute in Warsaw.

19 The Institute of Party History at the CC of the PUWP issued, through the medium of the *Książka i Wiedza* Publishing House, the first volume of collected works

by comrade Władysław Gomułka — "Articles and Speeches" — which covers the period of 1943-1945.

19-25 Adam Rapacki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, paid an official visit to India at the invitation of the Indian government. During his stay in the country, Adam Rapacki was received by Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India and Dr. Zakir Hussein, the Vice-President, and had talks with Prime Minister Nehru, with the Secretary of State, Mr. Lakshmi Menon, and with other leading members of the Indian government. Adam Rapacki delivered a lecture at the Indian Council of International Affairs, entitled: "Disarmament — the Polish Point of View."

21 A protocol, for 1963, to the 1961-1965 trade agreement between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the government of the USSR, was signed in Moscow. The protocol provides for a considerable increase in trade as compared with 1962.

22 January 22 marked the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of the January Uprising — a great armed action for national liberation — that was imbued with ideas of social radicalism. Celebrations

connected with this 100th anniversary were inaugurated by the opening of the Museum devoted to the Uprising in the 10th Pavilion of the Warsaw Citadel. The opening ceremonies were attended by members of the Party and state leadership, including Władysław Gomułka, Aleksander Zawadzki and Józef Cyrankiewicz. Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State and Chairman of the National Unity Front Committee, made the inaugural speech.

26 A trade and payments agreement was signed in Algiers between Poland and the Algerian Republic. This is the first direct

agreement in Polish-Algerian relations.

29 A Polish-British discussion meeting was held in Jabłonna near Warsaw which was attended by a group of 24 British parliamentarians. Under discussion were: European security, disarmament, cultural and economic cooperation, and ways and means to promote peaceful international cooperation.

30 As a result of talks between government trade delegations of Poland and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, a trade and payments protocol for 1963 was signed in Warsaw.

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